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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1895



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REGULATION PERTAINING TO PERSONAL IDENTIFICATION, ADDRESS REGISTRATION PAPERS

Sofia DURZHAVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 19 May 81 pp 475-478

[Ministry of Internal Affairs Regulation on the Application of Ukase No 2772 on Passports and Address Registration of Citizens of the Bulgarian People's Republic (DV, No 100, 1980)]

[Text] Section 1

Issuing, Replacing or Temporarily Recalling a Passport of a Citizen of the Bulgarian People's Republic

Article 1. (1) A Bulgarian citizen who is at least 16 years of age and resides on the territory of the Bulgarian People's Republic shall prove his identity with a regular passport of citizen of the Bulgarian People's Republic.

(2) A Bulgarian citizen may prove his identity with a passport for travel abroad or any other document for foreign travel as per Article 2 of the Law on Foreign Travel Passports, should his passport of citizen of the Bulgarian People's Republic have been submitted for safekeeping in obtaining documents for travel abroad, as well as within a period of 10 days after a definitive return to the country.

(3) Officers, career sergeants and master sergeants, prior to their demobilization from the Armed Forces of the Bulgarian People's Republic, the construction troops, and the troops of the Ministry of Transport, shall prove their identity with an identity certificate; drafted personnel shall prove their identity with their military book.

Article 2. Passports shall be issued according to the place of residence of the citizens by the passport services of the respective territorial branches of the People's Militia.

Article 3. (1) In order to obtain his first passport, the citizen must submit to the territorial unit of the People's Militia, either personally or through the obshtina (rayon) people's council or the mayor's office, the following documents:

1. The investigation card issued by the obshtina (rayon) people's council or the mayor's office at his place of residence;
2. Three photographs 5 x 4 cm. taken in the state photographic studio;

3. Report on the Integrated Civil Registration and Administrative Population Services System (ESGRAON) issued by the obshtina (rayon) people's council or mayor's office;

4. A fee stamp as per Section III, Article 7 of Tariff No 4 on fees collected within the system of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, approved by Decree No 83 of the Council of Ministers of 1974 (DV, No 71, 1974).

(2) If the documents as per the preceding paragraph are submitted through the obshtina (rayon) people's councils or mayor's offices, the officials must send the documents to the respective passport service of the People's Militia within 3 days.

(3) In the case of individuals under total restriction, documents as per paragraph 1 shall be submitted in his presence by his legal representative.

Article 4. (1) The organs of the People's Militia shall issue a passport of citizen of the Bulgarian People's Republic within 7 days following the submission of the documents as per Article 3, paragraph (1).

(2) The passport of an individual under total restriction shall be delivered to his legal representative who must take care of it.

Article 5. (1) The passport issued to a citizen must include the following data:

1. Name (first, patronymic and last);
2. Date and place of birth;
3. Uniform civilian number (EGN);
4. The name of the unit of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVR) which is issuing the document and the date of issuing;
5. Validity;
6. Family status;
7. Names of children under 16 and their EGN, as well as names of individuals of which the citizen is the legal ward or guardian;
8. Address;
9. Address registration.

(2) The data in the proper sections of the passport shall be filled with special typewriters and the address registration shall be stamped.

(3) Erasures or other changes shall invalidate the passport.

(4) The passport items will contain data consistent with those of the investigation card issued by the obshtina (rayon) people's council or the mayor's office at the place of residence of the citizen.

(5) The series and number of the newly issued passport shall be entered in the investigation card and the ESGRAON announcement which shall be returned to the respective obshtina (rayon) people's council or mayor's office.

Article 6. (1) The passport shall be submitted personally to the citizen by the respective official of the territorial unit of the People's Militia or the obshtina (rayon) people's council or mayor's office.

(2) In receiving his passport, the citizen (legal representative) shall sign at the proper place as indicated on the passport and in the investigation card.

(3) If the passport is presented by the obshtina (rayon) people's council or the mayor's office, the citizen shall sign the passport and the personal registration card.

(4) The solemn presentation of passports shall be organized by the organs of the People's Militia, under the direction of the obshtina (rayon) people's councils, on a periodical basis, for citizens who are issued their first passport.

Article 7. A citizen who is given his first passport must submit a residence document (in which he is registered) or changes in his address registration; those who change passport's must submit them to the house manager who will record the series and number in the house record.

Article 8. The following additional data must be stamped on the passport:

1. By the organs of the People's Militia: in the case of change of address (in the stipulated section) and in the case of permission for permanent stay in border areas and zones (on page 19);
2. By the civil status officials of the obshtina (rayon) people's councils or mayor's offices, in cases of address changes, civil marriage or divorce, widowhood, birth, death of children under 16, adoption, termination of adoption, legal representation (names of wards) or in the elimination of grounds for such conditions (in sequence, on the stipulated pages);
3. By the administration of enterprises, establishments or organizations--in hiring or dismissal from work (in sequence, on the proper pages);
4. By the pension services--in granting, changing, or the termination of pensions (on p. 17).

Article 9. (1) Citizens who replace their passports must submit:

1. At the expiration of the validity date--the old passport and the address card;
2. If the passport is damaged--the old passport, a birth certificate and an address card;
3. In name changes (first, patronymic and last)--the old passport, and the investigation card issued by the obshtina (rayon) people's council or the mayor's office at the place of residence;

4. In cases of major and lasting changes of features--the old passport, a birth certificate and the address card;

5. In cases of loss, theft or destruction--the investigation card issued by the obshtina (rayon) people's council or the mayor's office at the place of residence.

(2) In the cases stipulated in the preceding paragraph the citizens must submit also three photographs, the ESGRAON announcement and must pay fees as per Section III, Article 7, Tariff No on fees collected within the system of the MVR, as approved by Decree No 83 of the Council of Ministers of 1974.

Article 10. (1) A citizen whose passport has been lost, stolen or destroyed must submit a written petition to the respective territorial unit of the People's Militia where the event occurred within 24 hours. An official note will be issued on the basis of this petition certifying to the fact that the event was reported.

(2) Within 7 days following the receipt of a written petition reporting a lost, stolen or destroyed passport, the organs of the People's Militia will investigate the case; should the individual be a resident of another settlement, the results of the investigation shall be reported to the territorial unit of the People's Militia at the place of the citizen's residence.

(3) Within 14 days following the issuing of an official note as per paragraph (1), the petitioner must present himself to the territorial unit of the People's Militia in his place of residence for the purpose of obtaining a letter which will be used for receiving the necessary documents from the obshtina (rayon) people's council or the mayor's office for the purpose of issuing a new passport to the citizen.

Article 11. (1) The organs of the MVR, the obshtina (rayon) people's councils, the mayor's offices, the courts, the prosecutor's office, the members of the voluntary detachments of the working people (DOT) or the housebuilding managers may investigate the identification documents of the citizens within the limit of their legal competence.

(2) The officials must request the presentation of an identification document in hiring, training, placement in hostels, hotels, motels, camping grounds, tourist homes, tourist huts, rest homes, private homes through housing bureaus, institutions of religious communities and health institutions, or in making payments, sending or receiving parcels through the mails, the issuing of passes or other cases for which identification is mandatory.

(3) Individuals who rent premises for the night through the housing bureaus must check the data of the identification documents against the data of the receipts issued to the citizens sent to them and house said citizens only if the data coincide.

Article 12. The officials at the obshtina (rayon) people's councils and mayor's offices shall keep strict records of documents on the basis of which passports of citizens of the Bulgarian People's Republic are issued.

Article 13. A passport must be submitted for safekeeping in the following cases:

1. Temporary visit abroad with a foreign travel passport--by the organs in charge of organizing the trip or the foreign travel passport services of the MVR;
2. In accepting for temporary residence individuals in homes for minors and legal adults, in institutions for sobering up, or in serving the administrative punishment of detention in a unit of the MVR as per Article 1 of the Ukase on the Struggle Against Petty Hooliganism (DV, No 102, 1963; Amended No 88, 1973 and No 36, 1979), by the respective MVR organs;
3. In entering regular military service in the Armed Forces of the Bulgarian People's Republic, the construction troops, and the troops of the Ministry of Transportation--by the obshtina (rayon) people's councils or mayor's offices in charge of military registration;
4. In entering a medical institution for treatment, by the institution's administration.

Article 14. (1) The passport shall be submitted to the territorial unit of the People's Militia for destruction in the following cases:

1. In taking up military service as a career in the Armed Forces of the Bulgarian People's Republic, the construction troops and the troops of the Ministry of Transport;
2. In obtaining an exit visa by people who have been relieved from Bulgarian citizenship and have acquired a foreign citizenship;
3. In the death of a passport-carrying citizen.

(2) In the cases stipulated in item 3 of the preceding paragraph the relatives of the deceased or the citizens with whom the deceased lived must present the deceased's passport to the respective obshtina (rayon) people's council or mayor's office, who will send it to the closest unit of the People's Militia.

Article 15. (1) In accordance with their legal range of competence, the MVR organs may temporarily withdraw a citizen's passport in the following cases:

1. In cases of forgeries, replacement of pages, discrepancy between the photograph and the face of the individual, or other reasonable suspicions concerning the legitimacy of the passport;
2. If the individual is detained in a unit of the MVR, under the conditions stipulated in the Penal Procedure Code;
3. In the case of individuals serving a jail term.

(2) In the cases stipulated in item 3 of the preceding paragraph the passport shall be withdrawn and sent to the respective territorial unit of the People's Militia at the individual's place of residence.

Article 16. Officials in health institutions who have accepted for treatment citizens without an identity document must immediately inform the nearest territorial unit of the People's Militia of the fact.

Article 17. A Bulgarian citizen who lives on the territory of the Bulgarian People's Republic and who has a foreign identity document issued in his name must inform the territorial unit of the People's Militia in his place of residence within a period of 7 days after receiving the document.

Section 11

Address Registration of Citizens of the Bulgarian People's Republic

Article 18. (1) The address registration shall be done by the passport services of the People's Militia at citizens' place of residence.

(2) In settlements without passport services, the address registration and the address records for temporarily residing citizens shall be the duty of officials of the obshtina (rayon) people's councils or mayor's offices, as appointed by the corresponding chairmen of executive committees or mayors, with the approval of the territorial organs of the People's Militia.

Article 19. (1) The following documents must be submitted by the citizens for purposes of address registration:

1. Identity document;
2. Address cards as per Article 20, paragraph 2;
3. Housebuilding record book (if such is kept);
4. Military record book if the citizen is subject to military service, should the address be changed for a period in excess of 3 months, with a proper certification of the new place of residence.

(2) Construction, mining, forestry and geological workers or school students who change their addresses for a period not to exceed 1 year must not submit military record documents.

(3) In the course of the address registration the official shall stamp on the passport of the citizen and the housebuilding register the words ("registered" or "cancelled") with the exception of cases in which the address is changed for no more than 1 month.

Article 20. (1) Any Bulgarian citizen possessing an identity document who changes his address or spends the night must have an address registration within 24 hours from the day of arrival, with the exception of military servicemen with the Armed Forces of the Bulgarian People's Republic, the construction troops and the troops of the Ministry of Transport.

(2) In the course of the address registration, based on the length of stay, the citizen shall fill and submit address cards, as follows:

1. One address card--for address registration not to exceed one month in the country or not to exceed 6 months in the okrug where he resides;

2. Two cards--for address registration for a stay ranging from 1 to 6 months outside the okrug of his residence;

3. Three cards--for address registration for a period from 1 to 6 months in an okrug of which he is not a resident, but has been previously registered in a settlement of another okrug of which he has not been a resident as well.

(3) In all cases of address registration of a citizen for a period in excess of 6 months, an additional address card must be filled and sent to the respective obshchina (rayon) people's council or mayor's office at the place of residence for updating the ESGRAON data and the demographic statistics.

(4) Citizens who use their own housing area (cottage, house and others) for a period in excess of 30 days outside the area of the conurbation system in their place of residence must file an address registration.

Article 21. (1) The address registration of citizens in hotels, motels, camping sites, tourist houses, tourist huts, places of religious communities or private homes assigned by housing bureaus shall be conducted by the proper officials after checking their identity documents, by filling an address card for registering in a hotel and in the passengers' register.

(2) By permission of the corresponding territorial MVR unit, address registration for spending the night in tourist huts and hostels distant from other settlements, may require only the presentation of an identity document and registration in a special record book.

Article 22. Citizens working along railroads and highways, in mining, geological and construction projects, music groups or circuses, or other workers and specialists the nature of whose jobs requires movement and temporary residence in trailers, barges, hostels, or rented private premises, must register their addresses at the respective unit of the People's Militia or, if there is no such unit, the respective obshchina (rayon) people's council or mayor's office immediately following their arrival.

Article 23. Citizens officially assigned to school and training courses and residing in hostels for no more than 6 months must be registered on the basis of their identity document and address card for hotel registration.

Article 24. (1) Citizens engaged in group organized travel shall not fill address cards in hotels. They shall be entered in the passengers' register on the basis of a list drafted in two copies and sealed and properly certified by the head of the institution, enterprise or organization which has organized the travel, and the identity documents of the travelers.

(2) The list of citizens as per paragraph 1 must include the name (first, patronymic and last), date of birth, place of birth, place of residence, address, series and number of the passport, and the place where the passport was issued.

13) If such form has been drawn up for an organized group or the submitted form does not meet the requirements of the preceding paragraphs the citizens must file an address registration in accordance with standard procedures.

14) The decisions of the People's Militia may stipulate other cases in which address cards must be filled.

Article 25. People who commute to work do not have to file an address registration in their place of employment. In such cases the individuals must be registered in the settlements from which they come.

Article 26. (1) Citizens must not file an address registration in the following cases:

1. When they are visiting a father, mother, son, daughter, son-in-law, daughter-in-law or their children, or their in-laws for no more than 1 month, with the exception of those residing in border strips and zones;

2. When they have been sent on an organized basis to rest homes or private premises agreed upon in advance in accordance with proper procedure by the enterprise, establishment or organization which employs them;

3. If accepted for treatment in medical institutions;

4. If they are members of organized brigades or school camps.

(2) The officials in charge shall keep a list of the individuals stipulated in points 2, 3 and 4 of the preceding paragraph.

Article 27. A citizen who moves away from his residence for more than 1 month must inform the house managers or officials in charge of address registration of the obshtina (rayon) people's council or mayor's office of their new address where they can be reached so that it can be entered in the housebuilding record or the register of temporary residence.

Article 28. Citizens over 16 years old who have changed their address for more than 1 month after returning to their permanent address, including students, must mandatorily file an address registration.

Article 29. If citizens do not register at their new address for the sake of not being written off, following an investigation and by decision of the head of the territorial unit of the People's Militia, they shall be registered through official channels.

Article 30. (1) The address registration of citizens in settlements with housebuildings shall be entered in the corresponding housebuilding registers.

(2) Settlements in which housebuilding registers must be kept shall be listed by the chief of the territorial unit of the People's Militia and brought to the information of the citizens.

(3) In settlements where no housebuilding registers are to be kept, address registers books shall be kept by the oblastina (rayon) people's councils or mayor's offices for the registration of nonpermanent residents.

Article 11. (1) In coordination with the managements of the mass organizations, the organs of the People's Militia shall set up a housebuilding management system.

(2) The address registration in hostels of enterprises, establishments, organizations, schools, or construction, mining, geological or other sites shall be done by officials appointed by written order of the respective managers and cleared by the organs of the People's Militia.

(3) Housebuilding managers and the officials stipulated in paragraph 2 must see to it that citizens who have completed 16 years of age are issued passports within the stipulated time and insure their prompt address registration. If housebuilding managers or the stipulated officials are absent from their jobs for more than one day they must have a substitute.

(4) The housebuilding managers shall prove their right to check identity documents and the address registration of the citizens with a document issued by the organs of the People's Militia.

(5) The chairman of the housebuilding councils of housebuildings must give aid and assistance to the housebuilding managers and demand of the residents of the house to observe the passport regulations.

(6) Housebuilding managers and other officials in charge of enforcing passport regulations must take good care of housebuilding books, address registers and records of transients. They must not provide data on the address registration of citizens to individuals other than the authorities stipulated in Article 11, paragraph 1.

(7) If housebuildings, hostels or other residential buildings are pulled down or closed down the housebuilding books, address records and transient records must be submitted for safekeeping to the territorial unit of the People's Militia.

Article 12. (1) The People's Militia organs must assist, control and provide methodical guidance to individuals in charge of enforcing passport regulations.

(2) The People's Militia organs must help the staffs of the voluntary units of working people in the organization of specialized detachments and groups in charge of enforcing the passport regulations.

Additional Stipulations

1. The stipulations of Article 1, paragraph 1; Article 13, point 3; Article 14, paragraph 1, point 1; and Article 20, paragraph 1, shall apply also to the military personnel of the Ministry of Communications.

2. (1) The written summons as per Article 21 of Ukase No 2772 on passports and address registration of citizens of the Bulgarian People's Republic must indicate the name of the issuing MVR unit, the name (first, patronymic and last) and address of the summoned citizen, the date and hour of the summon or the deadline within which he must appear, as well as the purpose of the summons and the consequences of nonappearance.

(2) Citizens shall be considered as regularly summoned when the summons has been issued as follows:

1. Against receipt signed by the citizen to whom addressed. Should the citizen be absent the summons must be issued to an adult in the family or, if no such family member is present, to the housebuilding manager or chairman of the housebuilding council or the doorman. In the absence of such individuals, the summons must be issued to a neighbor who assumes the obligation to pass it on;

2. By the post office with return signature requested. In urgent cases the summons may be delivered by telegram, by telephone or by any other suitable means;

3. Through the administration of the enterprise, establishment or organization where the individual is employed.

(3) The person submitting the summons must note in the receipt the full name and address of the citizen to whom delivery has been entrusted as well as his relationship with the citizen to whom the summons is to be submitted.

Final Stipulation

3. The present regulation is issued on the basis of Item 5 of the temporary and final stipulations of Ukase No 2772 on passports and address registration of citizens of the Bulgarian People's Republic (DV, 100, 1980) and invalidates the Regulation on the Application of the Ukase on Personal Passports and Address Registration of Citizens of the Bulgarian People's Republic (IZV., No 95, 1966).

Minister: D. Stoyanov

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DSO: 2200/97

CPCZ'S CAPKA ADDRESSES KAMPUCHEAN PARTY CONGRESS

AU301737 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 28 May 81 p 7

["BOR"-signed Phnom Penh dispatch: "Kampuchea's Balance Sheet and Plans; Second Day of the People's Revolutionary Party Congress"]

[Excerpt] In the afternoon of 27 May, the participants in the Fourth Congress of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea were greeted by the head of the CPCZ delegation, Chairman of the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission Miroslav Capka. He conveyed to the congress delegates, all Kampuchean communists and Kampuchean people the warm comradely greetings of the CPCZ Central Committee, its general secretary and CSSR President Gustav Husak, the entire CPCZ and the Czechoslovak people.

He said that the rapid reconstruction of all areas of Kampuchea after the defeat of the followers of Pol Pot is a result of dedicated and persistent work by Kampuchean communists and all working people, and of selfless internationalist assistance and support by the Soviet Union, Vietnam and other fraternal socialist countries. The success of the recent elections in Kampuchea documented before the eyes of the whole world the population's support for the policy of the Kampuchean United Front of National Salvation and the People's Revolutionary Council [as published].

We are all aware of the fact, Comrade M. Capka said, that the People's Republic of Kampuchea [PRK], together with Socialist Vietnam and the People's Democratic Republic of Laos, is an important factor of peace and stability in Southeast Asia. We highly appreciate its foreign policy and sincere relations of cooperation, peace and security in this region and on a global scale. We fully support your efforts, reaffirmed in the conclusions of the conference of ministers of foreign affairs of Kampuchea, Vietnam and Laos.

M. Capka then resolutely denounced the intrigues of world imperialism and Beijing expansionists, who do not want to become reconciled to the fact that the PRK has decided to build a new, just social order, and do not even shy away from direct attacks, terror, mendacious and slanderous campaigns, manipulation of world public opinion and illicit use of international forums for hostile actions against People's Kampuchea. All those steps, he stressed, are doomed to fail. Equally futile are the attempts to "glue together" counterrevolutionary coalitions, which is what some former bankrupt Kampuchean politicians are trying to do.

The head of the CPCZ delegation further acquainted the congress delegates with the course and conclusions of the recent 16th CPCZ Congress, which was a convincing manifestation of party unity and its close ties with the working people.

M. Capka then expressed appreciation for the successful development of relations between the CSSR and PRK, and the CPCZ and the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea.

He went on to stress the need for lasting peace and spoke about the support which the new Soviet peace initiatives, put forward at the 26th CPSU Congress, have encountered in the CSSR.

Our party congress, M. Capka said in conclusion, expressed high appreciation for the PRK's, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam's and the People's Democratic Republic of Laos' immense efforts in eliminating the consequences of imperialism's and Chinese hegemonism's aggressive policy. He wished the delegates to the Fourth Congress of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea success in their congress' deliberations, and all Kampuchean people many successes in implementing its conclusions.

CSO: 2400/222

SLOVAK TRADE UNION BOSS ASKS FOR NEW LEGISLATION

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 24 Mar 81 p 5

[Article by Ladislav Abraham, member of the Presidium of the CPSL Central Committee and chairman of the Slovak Council of Trade Unions]

[Text] The report of the CPSL Central Committee, which I agree with and support, objectively evaluates the work of almost 2 million trade unionists in Slovakia who are expending great efforts by their work initiative in the pre-congress period to properly welcome the deliberations of the 16th CPCZ Congress and the CPSL Congress. In recent years we have achieved certain positive results as is also evident from the congress materials. We communists, authorized by the party to work in the trade unions, also appraise the results of our work with critical standards.

I would like to refer to that part of the Central Committee report to the congress in which Comrade Lenart again emphasized the absolute necessity, under new conditions to proceed in new ways, and so I want to talk about how we could better and more conscientiously carry out the labor policy of the party in this our largest social organization of the working class and other workers, politically and organizationally united, in close cooperation with state and economic bodies.

At its recent meeting the Slovak Council of Trade Unions [SOR] expressed full support for the plans of the "Main Directions of Economic and Social Development of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic for the Years 1981-1985" which expresses the basic policy goals of the party and defines the conditions for maintaining the current living standard of the workers and their social security. It considers the objectives and goals of the Seventh Five-Year Plan as very challenging. Trade union bodies and organizations will jointly work in close cooperation with state and economic bodies in the further development of the economy of the SSR, in raising the efficiency of production and quality of all work and thereby also in the development of a uniform Czechoslovak economy. We will endeavor to further intensify the economic function of the unions, especially by soliciting workers and further developing their participation in the formulation, implementation and control of fulfillment of the plan and by expanding socialist competition and other forms of work initiative and technical creativity of the workers.

In his presentation, Comrade Colotka stated that the government of the SSR and the SOR have already been cooperating successfully for a number of years. We say this repeatedly, nay, we emphasize it, even though in recent days after the visit

of Comrade K. Hoffmann and others to Poland the West again called us "state" trade unions. Among other things, even this Trade Union Hall is the result of this cooperation. Although joint procedures of the SGR government and the SOR in carrying out the tasks of socialist construction have been fully proven, we have not yet managed to implement them at all levels of management. Joint action of the CSSR Government Presidium and the Secretariat of the SOR in past years as well as this year is creating conditions for all-round cooperation at all levels of management.

In the second half of last year we directed the work of union bodies and organizations toward clarifying the Set of Measures. Education about the Set of Measures contributed to acquainting the official aktiv with this unusually important document. It did not, however, have the expected result. Participation of workers in the preparation of the plan was a great deal lower compared with past years. At the time of the training the enterprises and plants did not know their production quotas for the year 1981, nor the more specific directives for formulation of wage and other enterprise funds, the conditions for drawing up collective agreements and the plans for cadre, personnel and social development. Under these circumstances, the method of counterplanning on which Comrade Lenart placed so much emphasis yesterday as a higher form of worker participation in managing production could be implemented only in isolated cases and even then with certain discrepancies.

The authority of trade unions to organize the participation of workers in the management of production was restricted in the sixties. Since that time, in view of the complexity and difficulties in our development and the resulting work, we were unable to eliminate all of the consequences of these restrictions. It is true that the unions are participating in the formulation of wage policies but less so in their implementation. Trade union bodies, especially union committees in economic production units and enterprise and plant committees will have to work in this area in a much more principled and purposeful manner.

One of the provisions for bringing order into the matter of remuneration and increasing the influence of the unions in implementing wage policies is to simplify wage regulations and make them understandable. The tendency to average out everything leads to concealment of the problem in this area. For example, if only the pay of workers and supervisory personnel were listed separately as well as the extra pay for overtime of miners, drivers in passenger and freight transportation and also other workers, then we could see what the actual status of remuneration is. We would become more aware of the intolerable growth of overtime work, especially in certain occupations and at certain high-risk job sites.

The trade unions have no influence in price setting. Their authority in housing policy has become limited. Increasing living costs of families with a large number of children and the low wages of young members of the working class and women in certain branches give the impression that the unions are no longer sufficiently looking after their interests. Also, some benefits for health insurance are lagging behind wage developments, a factor which is gradually wiping out their merit aspects.

We have had some successes in certain areas of worker welfare, especially in the development of children's preschool facilities, pioneer camps and recreation and

cultural facilities. In the Sixth Five-Year Plan we invested Kcs 935 million for these purposes in Slovakia. However, the future is less promising. Reducing building limits for newly started union projects is not commensurate with the needs of union and state concern for the workers.

The party and society entrusted the unions with collective control over job safety and health protection. Consequently, we often meet up with disagreeable situations. Referring to the report of the Central Committee to our congress, I want to emphasize that in the interests of the health of the workers we are going to press even harder for the solution of the urgent problems in this area. During the Sixth Five-Year Plan the job accident rate, number of absences due to job accidents and, above all, the number of fatal accidents were reduced. The situation in certain branches, for example, in local industry, however, continues to be bad. Neither industrial nor trade union bodies in this branch are showing the necessary attention and concern about job safety and health protection and improving the working environment. They often have a passive attitude toward inadequate working areas, sanitary facilities and obsolete mechanical equipment. It is also our fault that plant committees are not making use of their legal authority. But it is not true that industrial and trade union officials have become accustomed to these irregularities. The elimination of shortcomings, especially those calling for considerable capital investment, is being put off from year to year.

In management work, the legal claims and legitimate living and working needs of the workers are often not taken into consideration. One must literally fight for many of these--force them out, or at least bring them up over and over again. The procurement of quality--and I emphasize quality--personal protective working devices is intolerably slow. I appreciate the efforts of the CSSR Government Presidium to solve the problems in this area which have long been the subject of criticism by our workers. Now we must ask for greater efforts and initiative from those departments that are responsible for carrying out the measures passed.

The successful implementation of the main aspects of economic and social development by carrying out the Set of Measures is unthinkable without all-round concern for the workers, without fully recognizing their legitimate living needs and interests. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev spoke to our hearts also when he impressed upon the Soviet trade unions at the 21st CPSU Congress that they should exercise their function of social control more than heretofore and consistently protect the workers' interests. Yesterday this obligation was brought emphatically to mind in the report of the Central Committee. I am convinced that our successful development would be accelerated if the 16th CPCZ Congress would approve a proposal to prepare a legal document to be discussed at the 10th All-Union Congress and approved by the Federal Assembly on the relations between the state and the unions at all levels of management. The existing law on plant committees based on a resolution of the Fourth All-Union Congress is no longer adequate under our present conditions. This would have not only great domestic significance but also international importance.

All through our society there are growing demands for high efficiency and quality of all work. We communists in the trade unions are conscious of our responsibility to link even closer the work of the unions with the goals for building a developed socialist society and with the needs and interests of the workers.

In this spirit we will continue to win over and unite workers to carry out the policies of the 16th CPCZ Congress.

BRIEFS

SESSION ON JOURNALISTS' TASKS--Prague, 21 May (CTK)--A joint session of the central committees of the Czechoslovak, Czech and Slovak Unions of Journalists was held in Prague on Thursday. It discussed the Czechoslovak journalists' and the journalist organization's tasks after the 16th CPCZ Congress. The session was attended by Jan Fojtik, CPCZ Central Committee secretary, Otto Cmolik, head of the CPCZ Central Committee Mass Information Media Department, and Zdenek Cermak, chairman of the Federal Press and Information Office. After the opening report delivered by Zdenek Horeni, chairman of the Czechoslovak Union of Journalists, the participants in the session spoke about concrete experiences in acquainting the public with the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress and with the tasks it formulated. They also dealt with the preparedness of journalists to equip our working people with qualified, clear-cut positions on the basic issues of our domestic and foreign policy. Jan Fojtik, who took the floor during the discussion, spoke about the journalists' share in implementing the program of the 16th CPCZ Congress. The session adopted a resolution, which calls to mind that the Czechoslovak journalists' priority obligation is to invest one's best efforts, abilities and experience in the everyday, systematic struggle for ensuring the tasks laid down by the 16th CPCZ Congress. [Text] [AU281948 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 May 81 p 2]

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PANEL EXAMINES SOCIAL MOBILITY, STRATIFICATION

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 19 Apr 81 p 5

[Interview with Ferenc Gazso, department chairman in the Karl Marx University of Economics; Janos Illes, director of the National Planning Office; Tamas Kolosi, department head of the Institute for Social Science of the Hungarian Socialist Worker's Party; and Kalman Kulcsar, superintendent of the Sociological Institute of Hungarian Academy of Sciences, by Denes Kovacs of the NEPSZABADSAG, date and place not specified.]

[Text] During the 1970's, there began a shift to a period of intensive economic development, as a result of which the class structure of our society became stabilized, as we can read in the resolution of the Eleventh Congress: "The numerical ratios of the classes and strata of our society have not changed essentially in recent years; qualitative changes acting to bring them closer together have been determinative."

This qualitative change was the subject of a round-table discussion, in which [the following] participated: Ferenc Gazso, department chairman in the Karl Marx University of Economics; Janos Illes, director of the National Planning Office; Tamas Kolosi, department head of the Institute for Social Science of the Hungarian Socialist Worker's Party; and Kalman Kulcsar, superintendent of the Sociological Institute of Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Our editorial staff was represented by Denes Kovacs.

NEPSZABADSAG: What new phenomena have appeared in recent years in the class composition of society?

T. Kolosi: Since the middle of the 1970's with the exhaustion of some of the prerequisites for extensive economic development, a situation has arisen in both economic policy and social policy that is in many ways new. The social changes that moved masses of people and the processes of social restratification that characterized the 1950's and the early 1960's have slowed down. At the same time, as a result of socialist development, social differentiation determined by ownership relationships has declined significantly, because since by the middle of the 1960's 96 percent of the population was working under socialist property relationships.

K. Kulcsar: In the second half of the decade, significant qualitative changes became apparent along with the great quantitative changes, that is, differentiation within certain social strata appeared. These differences originated with processes that began in the past, among which especially significant was the transformation of the settlement structure, closely connected with urbanization, industrial development, and industrialization of rural areas. We can safely regard the differences in patterns of settlement--within particular classes and strata, and particularly in regard to the working class--as differentiating factors. For example, the fact that presently half of the workers live in [small] communities, in an agricultural environment, gives a peculiar aspect to the workforce in many ways. The worker living in a [small] community, in an agricultural environment, resembles in many respects a peasant--who is no longer a peasant in the traditional sense of the word--any more than his worker colleague living in a city.

NEPSZABADSAG: What kinds of new traits characterize the working class nowadays as a result of the social and economic changes?

F. Gazso: One important new trait is that a new generation of workers who have completed the middle school, and including many who have completed secondary school has appeared. Today almost 20 percent of the workers have completed the middle school. With this schooling, a different kind of work force is entering the production process, and this is different from the former skilled workers with training only in a narrow field.

T. Kolosi: Another new phenomenon is that a significant portion of the present working class is made up of skilled workers living in villages but working in cities, who do skilled work in large plants within a modern industrial organization and whose material situation, living conditions, lifestyle, and training differ fundamentally both from those of workers a half century ago and of those who entered industry in the 1950's as helpers and semi-skilled workers, living in villages.

K. Kulcsar: An increase in educational level was especially characteristic during the 1970's. A kind of approach toward one another took place between the strata of well trained and educated skilled workers and the less well qualified strata of intellectual workers. In this--besides cultural demands increasing along with educational level--a role was played by a significant improvement in working conditions, a transformation of lifestyle, and a decrease in differences from this fact. As a village undergoing a transformation changes the people living there to its image, to some degree without regard to classes and strata relationships so too in the cities the situation in a certain sense works in the direction of a leveling [medium].

J. Illes: The shift to intensive economic development together with the expected slowing down of economic growth will result in a decrease in the industrial workforce and an increase in the number of workers in the area of services. The compositional changes of the working class is connected with all this, and the demand for workers with more schooling is growing.

NEPSZABADSAG: One importance characteristic of our social development is a rapid growth in the number of intellectual workers. This is illustrated by the fact that at the time of the liberation [1949] 8 percent of the so-called active workers were intellectual workers, whereas by 1980 this proportion approached 30 percent. Is the number of intellectual workers too large or too small, and in general who are included among them?

J. Illes: First of all we must clarify who we consider as intellectual workers; since in the statistics the administrators who have a lower level of training, doing partly mechanical work, are included among them just as much as a research physicist or a professor of medicine. But the intelligentsia are not a homogeneous category either, whether we regard the nature of their work, or their lifestyle and living conditions.

As for the question of whether there is too much intellectual training in Hungary, I can say that we are not generally gaced with too much training; in fact with the demand of intensive economic development we are rather training too few intellectuals.

F. Gazso: Contributing to the contradictions is the fact that in some areas here higher education is deficient: there is even some "under-training"; I am thinking here primarily of adequate level of correspondence schooling, which requires further training afterwards. And in some skilled areas the proportion of workers with training by correspondence is very high. For example, about half of the teachers have obtained training by correspondence. And this can also explain why in Hungary about 40 percent of the trained engineers are working in other than engineering positions, while about 40 percent of the positions requiring professional engineers are filled by engineers without proper training.

T. Kolosi: A large part of the tension among intellectuals comes from too much specialization in higher education, and from this comes the result that, except for a large amount of evening and correspondence training, a relatively small fraction of the young age groups gets into the universities and colleges. We are far behind the European level in regard to the ratio of daytime university students to the population of the same age. All this can become an obstacle in the future to economic and technical development.

K. Kulcsar: I would just like to add that the activities of inadequately trained professionals necessarily involve much over-organization and sham work, and this tendency is further strengthened by the many untrained intellectual workers performing mechanical work. Those day-time students who are receiving "qualitative" training can get into a disadvantageous situation, because, for example, some of the correspondence students are already in positions, and in today's conditions this diminishes the ability of society to give an appropriate answer to the challenge arising from changing circumstances.

J. Illes: So the real problem is, are we ready to make use of high-level intellectual creative work in the interest of solving the tremendous problems facing Hungarian economy and society? If this succeeds, then we can give a clear answer to the question posed of whether today and especially in the future there is a need for the effective and creative work of more and more intellectual workers.

NEPSZABADSAG: The slowing down of social movements experienced in the 1970's-- and outlined above--will presumably continue further in the 1980's. Should we therefore expect a decline in social mobility as compared to earlier times?

T. Kolosi: Here the question is, first of all, what do we mean by social mobility? In general usage, mobility means almost exclusively the change of a peasant into a worker and of a worker into an intellectual, and mobility is often equated with a rise in social status.

F. Gazso: To this one must add that to look at the purely quantitative figure of social mobility, without regard to concrete socio-historical processes is an erroneous starting point from the outset. Social mobility is, after all, not a goal in itself. This means that particular economic-historical processes determined by development have their own peculiar requirements for certain social groups to be transformed into others. However, the amount of mobility by itself cannot be evaluated as either good or bad. Thus, for example, the fact that masses of peasants went into industry during the 1950's, often doing menial work there, while at the same time living in villages under backward conditions, cannot simply be accepted as a process of rise in social status.

J. Illes: Today, in contrast to the direction of mobility in earlier periods, we can witness for example industrial workers returning to agriculture, undertaking work on collective farms. But that cannot be judged a step backward either.

K. Kulcsar: It is also happening more and more frequently that an intellectual worker becomes an industrial worker, and this is generally regarded as a step down, even when accountants and administrators who have become superfluous because of office automation are becoming skilled workers, and in the process increasing their knowledge and income and improving their living conditions. Public opinion frequently places a higher value on the most simple intellectual work than on [anything] physical.

F. Gazso: It must also be noted that this social judgment is changing. This is shown by the fact that physical laborers send 90 percent of their sons to become skilled workers.

T. Kolosi: If by mobility we mean movement between much broader social strata, we can say that during the past 10-15 years mobility has not decreased. But the internal direction and structure of mobility has changed very significantly. In comparison with the 1950's, some paths of mobility have grown decidedly. For example, the semi-skilled boys have become skilled workers and semi-skilled girls have become office workers. Many skilled workers have become middle-level industrial workers. At the same time, mobility of the highest and lowest strata has decreased.

NEPSZABADAG: All in all, have the chances for mobility in our society increased or decreased? Have the possibilities for people of one social stratum to change to another improved or worsened?

F. Gazso: The character and amount of mobility is inseparable from the openness of the structure of society. One side of this is whether particular strata obtain their replacements from within their own ranks or from other strata. The other side is what chance do people belonging to different social strata have to enter others, particularly the strata that provide the most favorable living conditions, also when measured objectively.

K. Kulcsar: This chance depends on social conditions and individual aspirations. Moreover, the fact that intellectual workers and intelligentsia have become more "closed" is a direct consequence of the fact that rapid social movements affecting large groups have ceased in today, and a solidified social class structure has developed; accordingly, replacement within individual strata is mainly taking place from within their own ranks. But since the number of intelligentsia has greatly increased compared with former times, just by virtue of their size they too are providing their replacements from within their own ranks.

F. Gazso: In the end, a society is open if social origin and the parents' occupation determine less and less whether or not certain persons are able to express their individual abilities and move into other social strata. The most important institutionalized path for this in our society is the school system. In the circumstances of today's society, the conditions for openness are more or less satisfactory, in spite of certain tensions.

NEPSZABADSAG: Isn't this conclusion too optimistic?

T. Kolosi: It is true that the influx of workers' children into the intelligentsia has decreased in the past 10 years. But workers' children with superior capabilities are able, even today, to get into the universities and colleges. But workers' children with average capabilities are in a disadvantageous position in comparison with intelligentsia children with similar capabilities. The application of administrative means to alter this situation is not appropriate and could cause problems in other areas. The main means of solution may be rather that in the future we keep the doors to higher education open and that for the long range, at least, we increase the number of daytime university students. In this way, a significant increase in the number of daytime university and college students can improve the chances of workers' children getting into institutions of higher education.

NEPSZABADSAG: What can and should be done for our other social concern, the children in especially disadvantaged strata?

F. Gazso: Replacement for those in disadvantageous situations is in fact coming from those in poor situations, but already a large portion of the descendants of these people are leaving this group; for example, 70 percent of the children of unskilled workers are leaving that group.

T. Kolosi: We must prevent--as far as possible--various social disadvantages from accumulating in the same families and the same persons. We have already done much in this direction, but more efforts are needed, economic and social measures, more support for the aged and those with many children, combatting

interferences with social integration, continuous educational work, and many other measures, in order for us to improve living conditions of people in disadvantageous situations.

K. Kulcsar: Finally I would refer back to the earlier conclusion that social mobility cannot be a goal in itself, and its direction and dimension depend fundamentally on the requirements of society. In Hungary, the spontaneous movement of social structure that came with the close of the decades of revolutionary transformation--which is naturally connected with processes of economics and control--does not make conscious intervention unnecessary. The possibility for such intervention will be restricted to smaller areas on the one hand, and on the other hand we must reckon with the consequences of spontaneous social changes, occasionally undesirable phenomena as well. Conscious intervention--which to a significant degree depends on projections of social processes and movement and a deep study of expected influences--can still greatly help to solve our concerns connected with development.

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CEAUSESCU 'DOCTRINE' ON POLITICAL, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Bucharest FLACARA in Romanian 23, 30 Apr 81

[Article by Vasile Iota: "The Ceausescu Doctrine As an Essential Contribution to Contemporary Economic and Social-Political Science"]

[23 Apr 81 p 2]

[Text] As we know the period inaugurated by the Ninth RCP Congress is the most fertile one in the Romanian people's entire history, both in socioeconomic development and in creative development of economic and social-political thought. Nicolae Ceausescu's creative thought and activity play a decisive and essential part in bringing about this development. Resistant to any dogmatic or unthinking isolation, receptive to experience and all that is new in the world, penetrating in its interpretation of the trends and prospects of national and worldwide socioeconomic development, and epitomizing the aspirations to national, social and material progress of the Romanian people and humanity, Nicolae Ceausescu's thinking, the Ceausescu doctrine, is a contribution of inestimable theoretical and practical value to the development of the world's economic and social-political science.

The 60th anniversary of the founding of the RCP is an occasion for us to reflect upon those contributions. Of course the great wealth of innovating ideas and theories in Nicolae Ceausescu's thought and work as well as our limited space permit only a summary of the best contributions and their originality in comparison with ideas and theories that have been or still are in some circulation.

Among the theoretical contributions which particularly concern internal socioeconomic development but have a much broader theoretical significance, we first point out the principle of "Romania as a developing socialist country" and the "economic doctrine of the fully developed socialist society." The originality and theoretical and practical value of the principle of a "developing socialist country" lie in rejection of superficial ideas, which were current in international communist thought, that underdevelopment and lags are characteristic only of the nonsocialist world and that merely by establishing a new social order the socialist countries also became some of the most economically, technically and scientifically developed countries. Internally this principle led to concentration of efforts upon development and a high rate of accumulation and to the idea that more intensive efforts must be made to modernize the national economy and to introduce the latest scientific-technical advances. Internationally it led to the idea that underdevelopment is a general, worldwide

phenomenon clearly differing from one social system to another and to the idea that closer collaboration and solidarity are needed among all the developing countries, as well as concerted efforts on the world level to eliminate underdevelopment and the great lags. The said principle expresses the idea of the superiority of socialism as regards the possibilities of accelerating the countries' transition from underdeveloped countries to developing ones, ones with medium development, or developed ones, but also the idea that under any social system intensive mobilization and better exploitation of those countries' domestic resources are critical for eliminating the lags, and the idea of the decisive role of the internal effort.

The idea of the necessity of a relatively long period of construction of the fully developed socialist society put an end to a simplistic conception that also dominated international communist thought for a time, to the effect that socialism is merely a brief stage of transition to communism, a stage of "completion of socialist construction." It brought out the objective necessity of a period of intensive development and improvement of socialist society in all respects, one of maturing and realizing all its potentials and merits before the problem could be considered of a stage of laying the foundations of a communist society.

On the level of economic thought and construction, creation of such a society primarily means comprehensive, all-around development of the national economy and the productive forces as a basis both for rapid improvement of the living standard and for securing national sovereignty and independence.

Consideration of the problems of socialist and communist construction in this new light is closely related to a new, original and highly realistic interpretation of the role and destiny of the nation, the national states, and the national economic complexes, independent and sovereign. The RCP and Nicolae Ceausescu believe the national state is and will be for a long time the best framework for developing the productive forces and asserting the freedom and creative power of all peoples. Therefore, as the RCP Program points out, "The attempt to abolish the national states and proceed to formation of supernational bodies is a new form of aspiration to dominate other peoples, in essence, and an effort to disguise class oppression and divert the masses from revolutionary social reform." (p 114)

In view of the present trends of the world economy, the economic doctrine of the fully developed socialist society embodies a true theory of independent economic development in a world of interdependences, the highly original idea that transition to socialist construction not only does not diminish the role of the nation and the independent national economic complex but, on the contrary, that socialism alone can provide a real independent and all-around development. The basic principles of this doctrine, rejecting the idea of narrow specialization within more or less closed economic blocs as well as the idea of national autarchy, bring out the necessity of the most extensive involvement of the national economy in the international division of labor and of international specialization, but on the basis of a complete and fully developed national economy. Nicolae Ceausescu believes that is the only way the growing interdependences will not become dependences and the various crises and disturbances in the world economy and international economic relations will not endanger development, economic independence and national sovereignty.

Nicolae Ceausescu thinks construction of a complete, modern and fully developed economy is a relatively lengthy process wherein the quantitative accumulations necessary lead to qualitative leaps. The conclusion that Romania has reached the level that

permits and requires a new quality in all socioeconomic activities, as well as consideration of trends and developments in the world economy, are basic to the new and original principles formulated by Nicolae Ceausescu concerning the need of restructuring the national economy, especially industry, and of accomplishing a new agrarian revolution. Both these processes are designed as particular ways of more fully applying the Romanian people's resources and creative powers to the party's basic aim of enhancing the material and cultural welfare of all the workers in Romania.

Nicolae Ceausescu's concept of the new economic-financial mechanisms and workers' self-management is of particular theoretical and practical value in connection with the economic doctrine of the fully developed socialist society and improved economic organization and management. This concept expresses the creative, harmonious combination of centralized management of the national economy on the basis of the Uniform National Plan with extensive use of the economic levers, the value exchanges, the socialist market and the law of value. It also expresses democratized management of the national economy and mobilization of all forces to achieve the basic aims of the stage of building the fully developed socialist society.

[30 Apr 81 p 27]

[Text] Nicolae Ceausescu's theoretical work contains ideas and principles of exceptional theoretical and practical value in connection with the major trends and problems of the world economy and of international economic and political relations. The new definition of the present period as a starting point for preparing the whole domestic and international economic policy is noteworthy here. As contrasted with the conceptions that reduce the definition of the present period solely to social or technical-economic changes, Nicolae Ceausescu defines it as a series of revolutionary social, national and technical-economic changes among which the following are essential: the transition of mankind from capitalism to socialism; abolition of imperialist, colonial and neocolonial domination and basing relations among states and nations on new principles of equality, observance of national sovereignty and independence, and the technical-scientific revolution; elimination of underdevelopment and formation of a new international economic order; and democratization of international economic and political affairs.

Like the general definition of the nature of the present period, the definition of each of these major changes contains many original ideas and points. For example, the RCP's and Nicolae Ceausescu's concept of "the beginning of a new phase of the crisis of the capitalist system that includes all aspects of social activity... affects all continents to a greater or lesser degree" (RCP Program p 185) is of outstanding theoretical and practical importance in connection with the idea of transition from capitalism to socialism. This transcends the narrow view that the crisis of the capitalist system and other crises brought on by capitalism affect the capitalist world alone. But the conclusion that the rapid collapse of capitalism is imminent does not follow from this estimate or the finding that the economic, political and social contradictions of capitalism are aggravated beyond previous expectations. On the contrary, the facts indicate that "Despite the very bad effects of the crisis it would be a mistake to conclude that they [the capitalist countries -- our note] can no longer resolve the problems of economic development. Despite their past and present economic difficulties, the developed capitalist countries still have adequate forces and still play an important part in the world economy" (Vol 16, p 511). Consequently coexistence between the capitalist and socialist countries "is

a historical reality that will last for a long time to come" (Vol 13, p 106), and Nicolae Ceausescu considers it one more argument in favor of the objective necessity of building a new international economic order in which all states of the world will share.

Moreover in connection with this new conception of the nature of the present period and in consideration of the peoples' unprecedented struggle for national independence and freedom and for abolition of any forms of imperialist, colonial and neocolonial domination, one proceeds from the fact that "Imperialism is characterized by the attempt to dominate other peoples economically and politically, by violation of their right to national sovereignty, independence and freedom" (4, 328-329), "by the policy of dictation, force, and brutal interference in other states' affairs..." (5, 325), and by the effort to apportion and reapportion the spheres of domination and exploitation among various states and groups of states. This new, broader and more truthful conception of the present period does not rate or contrast the various revolutionary changes as some conceptions do but, on the contrary, it brings out the organic unity of all these processes, which supplement and stimulate each other.

Combined use of the social, national and economic criteria led not only to this broader definition of the present period but also to the more complete and accurate interpretation of history and the main economic, political and social processes and facts of the past as well as the present. For example, the history of mankind is no longer limited to the history of the class struggle and it is at least equally the history of the exploited and oppressed peoples' struggle for freedom, unity and independence and for material and cultural progress. Nicolae Ceausescu formulates the principle that the ceaseless struggle for national and social freedom and for defense of unity, independence and sovereignty against foreign oppression is a law of the evolution and behavior of the small and medium developing countries that determines those peoples' "entire way of life and thought." In the same view, the older or more recent struggles among various great powers to create big empires and to apportion or reapportion the spheres of influence, domination and exploitation primarily depend upon national-state interests, a certain balance of power and the evolution of that balance of power partly among the various states and groupings of states with imperialist tendencies to dominate other peoples, and partly between them and the peoples struggling for their independence, freedom and legitimate rights. That interpretation of the conflicts in the world arena is basic to the RCP's and Nicolae Ceausescu's idea that in these times the peoples and the revolutionary, progressive and democratic forces can build a better and more just world for all peoples of the world and defeat the imperialist, colonial and neocolonial attempts and policy. That interpretation of the content of the struggle for social and national freedom and of the constant conflict between oppressed and oppressors on both the national and international levels led to the broader definition of the nature of internationalism and international solidarity and to pointing out the need of supplementing the slogan "Proletarians of All Countries, Unite" with the slogan "Oppressed Peoples Everywhere, Unite Against Any Form of Social or National Domination or Exploitation". Clearly this new viewpoint opens up new vistas for all oppressed peoples' struggle for their legitimate right to independent self-determination with no outside interference, and for the fight against any form of domination or exploitation.

Nicolae Ceausescu's conception of the uniformity of the world economic cycle and the world economy is also original and profoundly realistic. As we know the theory used to be widely current (and still is in some countries) that the single world market

is split into two parallel and opposed world markets, or that the international division of labor and the single world economy are split into two parallel and opposed "world" economies governed by different laws and developing independently. This idea gave rise to various theories of capitalist or socialist economic integration and a view, idealizing in many respects, of reality and economic and political relations in and among the socialist countries to the effect that the various crises and disturbances in the world economy affected only the nonsocialist countries, etc.

As contrasted with such views and theories, Nicolae Ceausescu studied the evolution of real life and published the theory that although the various crises in the world economy are caused primarily by capitalism and a backward international order, due to the growing interdependences on the world level the bad effects of these crises do not stop at the borders of the socialist countries, and the theory that "the socialist system cannot live independently, apart from the world economy, the international division of labor, and international economic collaboration." As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "Experience has shown that the theory of the independence of the socialist system and the formation of the independent socialist division of labor opposed to capitalism and the other countries of the world is unrealistic and fails to meet the requirements of material and technical-scientific progress, while the trend toward economic isolation can have only bad effects upon socioeconomic development and international collaboration" (16, p 513). Hence the new conclusion as to the objective necessity of all countries' participation in the single world economic cycle and the international division of labor and the necessity of all countries' active participation in the resolution of global crises and problems facing the world economy as a whole and affecting world security, peace and collaboration.

As we know, one important idea running throughout Nicolae Ceausescu's work and activity is to demonstrate the superiority of socialism over capitalism and to point out the opportunities created by socialism for promoting the new kind of principles and relations among the socialist countries. But in his view "The superiority and power of socialism cannot be asserted by statements alone," but "We must take steps to demonstrate the superiority of socialist social organization in practice, by facts and realities and by specific achievements. From this standpoint, Nicolae Ceausescu rejected the idyllic, idealizing presentation of the realities in the socialist countries and the relations among them and advanced the valuable theory of the possible appearance of contradictions that can lead to social or political conflicts and complications if they are not understood and analyzed in time. For example, in pointing out the existence and perpetuation of divergences among various socialist countries because "socialist principles are not always applied in relations among the states building the new order" and the fact that various works often deny the possibility of divergences, maintaining that "all problems among them are solved in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, brotherhood and solidarity," Nicolae Ceausescu expressed his own opinion and that of the RCT to the effect that "The highest interests of socialism is not denial concealment of reality but sound and most responsible analysis of the causes of divergences and disagreements and steps to resolve them by negotiations between the parties, in order to consolidate solidarity and collaboration in socialist construction and in the general effort toward peace and progress in the world" (17, p 514).

Nicolae Ceausescu's idea of the social-national-international relation under socialism is of exceptional theoretical and practical value here. As distinguished from the ideas to the effect that there are contradictions between class and national interests and between national and international interests, and that national

interests should be subordinated to class or international ones, Nicolae Ceausescu demonstrates that there is and can be no contradiction between those categories of interests. Under socialism national interests are only the interests of the working class and the workers elevated to the rank of national interests. The international prestige and power of socialism grow with the progress of each and every socialist country. The general and the international exist only in and by the particular and the national, so that nothing that impairs the legitimate interests of any socialist country in any way can be truly international. Nicolae Ceausescu believes that contradictions exist not between the national and international but between the specifically national interests of the various socialist countries, which is quite another thing. Up to a point such contradictions are naturally caused by differences in the history and particular situation of each country and they are to be resolved solely by negotiations between the parties in the spirit of good will and mutual respect, equality of rights, and the basic interests of socialism.

Study of actual experience and the new view of the world economy and the realities and relations in and among the socialist countries led to a new and original conception of the scope of the law of unequal development in leaps. As contrasted with the conceptions to the effect that this law operates only in the capitalist world, causing gaps, inequalities, conflicts, tension, shifts in the balances of power and efforts to reapportion the spheres of domination and exploitation, while an "opposite law" equalizing the countries' developmental levels operates under socialism, Nicolae Ceausescu proceeded from realities to formulate the theory that the law of unequal development in leaps operates throughout the whole world economy, and that under socialism "the law of unequal development but also the law of development in leaps that permits more rapid elimination of underdevelopment and equation of the developmental levels operates and will continue to operate" (13, p 487). This new concept, as well as the realities on which it is based, throw a new light on the widespread problems of underdevelopment and lags, their older and more recent causes, their geographic location, their effects upon the world economy, and the ways and means of eradicating them, provide a broader and consequently more realistic view of the shifts in the balances of power throughout the world, and lead to a broader and deeper understanding of the recrudescence in recent years of the efforts to reapportion the spheres of domination, exploitation and influence among various states and groupings of states. For example, in this new view the basic cause of underdevelopment is not limited to colonial domination but is explained more broadly by "development of some peoples at the expense of others," and this basic cause takes particular economic or extraeconomic forms in various historical periods and geographic areas. In Nicolae Ceausescu's Romanian view, the mere fact of the existence of great gaps and differences among the national levels of labor productivity brings about, even on the basis of the law of value and even under the conditions of equivalent exchange, a gratuitous transfer of values from the developing countries to the developed ones, a veritable "tribute for underdevelopment." This is also one more reason for expediting Romania's economic development and for resolute action on the world level to eliminate underdevelopment and the great gaps. The fact that this mechanism of the law of value operates throughout the world economy through the intermediary of world prices indicates that the socialist countries are called upon to take the lead in the struggle for a new international economic order.

BRIEFS

PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS--The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Constantin Popescu, deputy minister of light industry, is also appointed director general of the Bucharest Central for the Clothing Industry, and Comrade Iosif Steinbach is appointed deputy minister of light industry. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 34, 20 May 81 p 1]

REMOVAL OF DEPUTY MINISTER--The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Dumitru Condache is relieved of his position as deputy minister of mines, petroleum and geology. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 34, 20 May 81 p 1]

DEATH OF HUNGARIAN MINORITY FIGURE--Comrade Ladislau Banyai, militant of the Communist and workers movement in Romania, renowned scientific and cultural figure, corresponding member of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, deputy chairman of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences, deputy chairman of the National Council for Romanian Radio and Television, died on 4 June. He had positions of responsibility in the leadership of central institutions, in the activity of education, culture and science and in other fields. At the 11th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party he was elected member of the Central Auditing Commission. He has been a deputy of the Grand National Assembly during many legislatures and during the period from 1948 to 1952 he was a member of the Presidium of the Grand National Assembly. As a member of the Bureau of the Council of Workers of Hungarian Nationality in Romania, Ladislau Banyai made a special contribution to the implementation of the Marxist-Leninist nationality policy of our party, in the united struggle of Romanian, Hungarian, and German workers and of workers of other nationalities for the building of the new socialist society. He was a member of the Writers Union. He was the recipient of orders and medals of the Socialist Republic of Romania and of the title of "Hero of Socialist Labor." [Excerpts] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 5 Jun 81 p 5]

CSO: 2700/283

SWISS PAPER DISCUSSES CROATIAN NATIONALISTS' TRIALS

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 13 Jun 81 p 4

[Report by "cvk.": "Persecution of Croatian 'Nationalists'--Contradictory Behavior of Authorities"]

[Text] Zagreb, June--The sentencing of journalist Vlado Gotovac last week means that three of the four scheduled trials of "Croatian nationalists" in Zagreb are over. Since Dr Marko Veselica has been on a second hunger strike since 29 May, the fourth trial will probably be postponed. Dr Veselica is protesting the illegal behavior of the prosecuting authorities in the remand prison.

Comparatively Mild Sentences

The trials that have taken place so far present a very contrastive but surprisingly clear picture. What is contrastive, for example, is the discrepancy between the bombastic propaganda apparatus unleashed against the defendants before the trials in the Yugoslav media and in public statements by high party officials and the comparatively mild sentences. In February General Tadjman was sentenced to 3 years in the penitentiary, a few weeks ago the student Dobroslov Paraga received the same kind of sentence, and last week the writer Vlado Gotovac was given a 2-year sentence.

What became clear, on the other hand, is that party circles in Croatia in close cooperation with the state security service advocate the view that they must furnish deterrents with these trials. The opposition is to be intimidated. These party circles apparently are truly appalled at the actual beginnings of a change in political style since Tito's death which have become visible here and there in party circles and among the population in the direction of greater openness toward criticism. Otherwise it really would be difficult to explain the fact that charges were filed despite a downright amazing lack of evidence. Viewed objectively, none of the indictments contains the least reason why the defendant should be sentenced.

Sentences Despite Lack of Evidence

In all these trials it is primarily a question of "collaboration with anti-Yugoslav emigre circles" and alleged "Ustashi organizations" although no solid evidence of such relations was supplied in a single case. The only thing adduced by the prosecuting authority as incriminating evidence was the fact that Tadjman and Gotovac

gave interviews to Western correspondents and that these were printed in part or in full in the emigre press. In the case of the student Paraga the indictment goes so far as to mention the "spreading of hostile propaganda," claiming that Paraga went to see the well-known Croatian extremist leader Stjepan Bilandjic in Cologne. The prosecutor regarded as adequate such grotesque evidence as a Cologne-Munich railroad ticket, an entry in the defendant's passport showing that he crossed the FRG-Austrian border at the time in question and a ticket admitting him to a Cologne museum. Apparently no one was interested in clear evidence or a description of the visit to Bilandjic mentioned in the confession made under duress. The court regarded as irrelevant the fact that the defendant disavowed his "confession," which had been dictated to him even before he was told what he was being charged with. The reasons for passing sentence proffered orally refer to evidence found not on the person of the defendant but with his friend Ernest Brajder, who died a few days after Paraga's arrest under decidedly mysterious circumstances.

Intimidation Tactics

In the Paraga trial it became more than evident that his relations with anti-Yugoslav emigres had been invented because it was intended to place him, and at the same time his political attitude as such, in the worst possible public light. For actually the crux of the trial was the second charge--the collecting of signatures for an amnesty of "political prisoners" which Paraga allegedly did not pass to the State Presidency, as any citizen is allowed to do. The indictment claims that he passed them instead to DER SPIEGEL in Hamburg and to Ustashi organizations. This, the indictment says, meant that the signatories were cheated. Moreover Paraga had deceived them in that, contrary to the Serbian version, he had demanded amnesty not for "verbal offenses" but explicitly for "all political culprits." This was the reason given by the police why all 43 citizens who had signed the petition were summoned and questioned--generally in an extremely brusque manner. Only five of them, however, took advantage of the opportunity offered them of stating that they had been "deceived" and of withdrawing their signatures. In the course of the trial the defense, headed by Belgrade lawyer Srdja Popovic, was also able to show in this case that the investigating authority had been guilty of manipulation and to prove that the petition in fact had been sent to the State Presidency and had been received by it. By the end of the trial the indictment had fallen apart completely.

Rightly the defendant Paraga, who was 19 when he was arrested in late November 1980, stated in conclusion: "I am of the opinion that it is not I who is accused here but that what is being accused here is a legitimate petition for an amnesty regardless of whether it is a question of verbal offenses or one of all political offenses. I just happened to be the defendant in the dock. The real defendant is the spirit of forgiveness and the spirit of tolerance, and the court will condemn this spirit."

Paraga and Veselica are active Catholics. Paraga comes from a family of practicing Catholics, whereas Veselica, who was a high-ranking party official in Zagreb and an economic scientist at the university until 1971, converted to Catholicism when he was released from prison. In 1972 he had been sentenced to 7 years in the penitentiary because of "nationalism." Gotovac and Tudjman are not members of any

religious community. Tujman, a former partisan who was employed with the General Staff after the war, was a member of the Yugoslav communist party until 1967, whereas Gotovac never was a party member.

Creation of Solidarity

Officially these four Croats are mentioned as a "group." It is not a group in the true sense of the word, but in a larger sense it may be considered such. With its shortsighted methods of repression and defamation, which assign the same "enemy" label to any voices of criticism, the party has in fact created a kind of solidarity among the most varied people and convictions. A factor leading to such solidarity in Croatia is also the polemics against the Catholic Church which has suddenly flared up again to an uncommonly vehement degree. Tied profoundly to many strata of the population, the church officially is taking the view that it will "not let itself be provoked any longer." The resolution of the last bishops conference in late April, though constituting per se a clear and self-confident formulation of the tasks of the church as it sees them in contrast to the state, does not give any reply to attacks and excesses individually. Having been adopted unanimously, it was given additional weight by the fact that--for the first time since the establishment of the nunciature--the nuncio accredited in Belgrade attended the conference.

In Croatia--in Zagreb, anyway--a rough wind is blowing these days. Even in 1971/1972, when there were student demonstrations and hundreds of intellectuals were sentenced and driven from the party and their jobs because they had participated in the "Croatian nationalist movement," the climate was different. At that time the Croats, ever inclined to emotional exaggerations and also to self-pity in the historical-political sense, wavered between fear and hope. Today the critical circles have become tougher and cooler. Cynicism and brutality on the part of the authorities are causing a self-confidence based on moral and intellectual superiority among those who are to be repressed and frightened.

8790

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SITUATION AT UNIVERSITY CENTERS IN CROATIA DISCUSSED

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 6 Jun 81 SEDAM DANA Supplement pp 6, 7

[Assemblage of articles prepared by Gojko Marinkovic, Zorica Nikolic and Jadranka Sinkovic: "Newlyweds Without Dowry"]

[Excerpts] Universities in Figures

At the 4 university centers in Croatia, at 48 university schools, 27 junior post-secondary schools and 6 academies there is a student body of 50,000 fulltime and 15,000 parttime students, while during the 1978/79 academic year there were 61,000 fulltime and 18,000 parttime students. Half of the total number of students are studying the social sciences (economics and law account for the largest number), and there is a decline in the number of students in the schools of natural science and mathematics, engineering, and agriculture and forestry. Less than 50 percent of the students enroll for the second year, and 20 percent of the students complete their studies regularly according to their age. Of the 80,000 unemployed persons in Croatia, 6,000 have either junior or senior postsecondary training.

At the university and junior postsecondary schools in Croatia there are more than 10,000 members of the League of Communists organized in 120 basic organizations. One out of every 6 postsecondary students, 1 out of every 4 instructors and 1 out of every 13 members of administrative and technical personnel is a member of the League of Communists [LC].

Preserving What Has Been Discovered

The basic ideas expressed some 15 years ago are in their essence, assuming the terminology has changed, of course, relevant even today, and it is correct to say at present that the university should become an integral part of associated labor. In its first years the reform recorded certain successes with respect to the course of study and curriculum, the introduction of student self-management and, one might say, in marginal matters, but it took time for its essence to penetrate to consciousness, for people to realize that it involved a revolutionary change of attitude, not institutional changes, but an opening up toward the large issues of our society and the large issues of the world. Yet the university continued to be turned more toward preserving what had been discovered and toward systematizing knowledge than toward the challenge of the times and the current processes in society.

Put most briefly, these are the reasons why a working group of the Presidium of the Croatian LC Central Committee rendered the judgment 1.5 years ago that the university today, as an institution of knowledge and enlightenment, is undergoing such a critical change of the foundations in traditional enlightenment on which it rested for decades that it extends outside the limits of the university and falls in the center of the interests of the entire society. It is certain--it was said at that time--that on its own it does not have the strength to transform itself from an autonomous nucleus of enlightenment which has developed as a driving force of the general cultural and educational advance of the people, regardless of the situation in production--into a function of the development of the productive forces in its own right as an integral part of associated labor and of society. This process must be borne along by all the forces of society, and the League of Communists would have a special role here as society's leading force in ideology and action.

A meeting of the Presidium of the Croatian LC Central Committee was also held at that time on the topic of the university, and a plan of action was adopted. This April the same forum had the same item on the agenda. And though there is some truth in the statement that putting university problems up for debate at precisely this time had certain understandable causes and pretexts, from what we have been able to learn from a conversation with two participants in that meeting, Dr Rene Lovrencic, a member of the Presidium, and Petar Piskac, executive secretary of the Presidium, the purpose was above all to see how much the situation has now changed and what is the present status of the reform.

Chroniclers of the events at the university (in Zagreb) know very well that for years it has been the scene of all kinds of events, including unrest and outbreaks, and that the university has of old been a kind of barometer of the situation in society, since political-ideological events and movements at the university cannot be examined in isolation, but only as a segment of overall social movements, a reflection of what is taking place in the transformation of society. To the extent that domestic and above all economic problems are exacerbated, states the recent analysis of the Presidium of the Croatian LC Central Committee, certain political-ideological issues are raised at the universities, and there are deviant occurrences. That is why the opinion, held above all by certain political factors, that the situation at the university is good only when quiet prevails, proved to be sterile and unjustified. But that quiet has prevailed a rather long time, since the tumultuous events in 1971 the university seems to have withdrawn from the public scene; its contribution to the great debates at that time, concerning the new constitution and the Law on Associated Labor, for example, was almost nil, the reform fell into a crisis, and the ranks of the party were seized by lethargy. Certain responsible people asserted at the time that it was a creative peace, and others responded to them that they would prefer a creative unrest, but all in all if at this moment we ignore a few outbreaks, which incidentally have frequently been exaggerated, the "creative peace," which certainly is not creating anything, still prevails in many university communities.

One Should Not Generalize

This was actually the first question which we put to Dr Rene Lovrencic, someone who is very familiar with the university situation not only as a professor at the School of Philosophy, but also as a past chairman of the LC University Conference.

"The assertion that nothing is happening in such a large group of work organizations as the university can hardly stand up. It is difficult to make any sort of general evaluation, since university activity is so diverse that any such assessment would be arbitrary, but it is a fact that we can say with quite a bit of justification that this process of qualitative change, of change which yields results, has been going slowly.

"Taken as a whole, this process of revolutionizing the university, which is no fixed idea at all, but a need of the times, a need dictated by the development of technology, a need which is deeply implanted in worldwide developments, has still been encountering resistance and a lack of understanding.

"There is a wide scale of approaches, views and conceptions which run on the one hand from a kind of obsession with changes, at almost any price, to resistance to all changes, since changes are equated with a threat to the virtues and traditions which certain communities have become accustomed to and which are viewed as the prestige of the particular university school without good reason."

[Question] We often talk about the university only when irresponsible acts are involved, and perhaps this accounts for the idea that there is nothing else. We also associate this with the fact that the university is not giving the tone to political and public life which is expected of it?

[Answer] It is a fact that the university or certain of its parts is talked about more frequently when various social factors at the upper levels feel that a certain danger is coming from that direction. In view of the character of that social institution, and also in view of past experience, some of which is still rather fresh in our minds, this heightened interest in irresponsible acts and dangerous events is largely understandable. We should not reject this concern out of hand as a kind of exaggerated caution or kind of policeman's fear of students and then, of course, of their instructors as well. So there is certain justification for this kind of attention, but the question that arises is one of the right measure, of whether the fears might not become the principal and determining attention. Does this attitude in a way transfer too much of the attention into the wrong wheel tracks? Actually this question is a kind of indicator of how seriously the social significance of the university is taken. After all, if too much attention is paid precisely to this reality or possibility of irresponsible acts, often even with more possibility than reality--more attention to what might happen than to what is happening--then one can see from this how well informed public factors are and how much they understand the importance of the university. An approach which focuses excessively on the negative manifestations, which is excessively sensitive to what might be dangerous, itself frustrates a positive attitude and has a depressive effect even on those forces which embody the constructive and creative potential.

From Enemies to the Officially Constructive

[Question] Doesn't this attitude, the attitude which is constantly warning of the dangers coming from the university, hamper both constructive debate and polemics? After all, why should we not carry on a conversation with those accents from the university with which we do not agree, since it is not enough to merely reject them with labels?

[Answer] At the university, just as elsewhere in society, it is important that judgments be heard, that the matters at issue be heard in good time, that better solutions be found through debate or that there be differentiation and confrontation. But this is possible only with views which have been expressed, rather than those which we assume to exist. The criticism that there is no confrontation is often heard, but the question is with whom there is to be confrontation if there is no space, if we do not facilitate the expression of other views, which might range widely--from pronouncedly hostile views all the way to constructive views, which in a way are even constructive from an official viewpoint. If these possibilities are stifled right at the outset, then this prevents the confrontation which is sought and which is necessary to society, since there is a question of what is to be confronted?

[Question] Do you not have the idea that there is more talk about the reform than real results? Isn't it a question of there not being sufficient thrust either from higher education or from associated labor?

[Answer] The reform is being conducted in certain of its aspects by the very letter of the law. It is my impression that one reason why the present law and higher education (a new law on job-oriented education is about to be passed) is that it contains certain shortcomings which were at least in part emphasized even in the discussions before it was adopted, and that made its neglect inevitable. But a law is one thing, and a reform something else; a reform is not a legislative issue, but a broader social question which does not depend solely on normative acts and the quality of such acts, but on the totality of the social action which bears it forward, supports it and carries it out. In a part of the university this broad social action is lively and quite definite at present. There is no quarter in which the reform is not being carried out at least in some measure, but the question is whether this is always along the line of a basic need or misses the mark in certain of its aspects. There are also situations where certain university schools satisfy the requirements of the law from the formal standpoint, but there has been no essential change in the general tone and orientation, nor has a new quality of relations been created between education and associated labor as a whole. Such relations abroad, whether in socialist or capitalist countries, have a long tradition, especially in the West, where they are considerably more advanced than in our case, yet they do not have either our social framework, nor do they have the Law on Associated Labor, nor the Law on Higher Education.... It is rather depressing that quite a few of our faculty members have spent time in various places and have seen a great deal, but they have carried over, applied and taken advantage of little of that, so that many of those functional relations between science and the economy which elsewhere have become a tradition do not exist in our case at all. Often those connections do not function even when various contracts, agreements or accords are in force.

of course, the reform is one thing for us and something else for our neighbors in the school of mechanical engineering. In its basic intentions it is something which is more or less applicable everywhere, but its specific impacts are very much related to the specific features of those who are supposed to be the decision-makers. The specific features are such that certain positive models are not applicable to places which have a different technology, different characteristics of operation, and therefore each community would have to find its own model, a model which would have to be open-ended and not set down once and for all.

Fewer and Fewer Students

[Question] When the university party organization, with its conference and committee, was dissolved, the intention was for there to be linkage by industry and groupings aside from the linkage in opstinas. What has actually happened since the conference was dissolved?

[Answer] Though this was not carried out overnight, there were no sudden ruptures, but rather that dissolution was prepared for a long time; it is nevertheless a fact that for a time there was a kind of vacuum which other forms of organized activity were unable to fill. Recently, over the last year or two, since the commissions of the Zagreb City LC Conference have become active, even opstina committees have seen a certain progress since the time when there was not even elementary coordination. These changes are to be seen in a number of actions which have been going on in recent months. Nevertheless, it still seems to be a question whether that kind of coordination is adequate, whether we ought not to think of certain other more lasting forms which some people, quite a few of them, think are excessive and even in contradiction to the general developments of society, that they are even an expression of a kind of elitism, of a closing off of the university, and so on. Yet it seems to me that there nevertheless should be some higher degree of community consensus and joint action as there was a few years ago. The existence of certain common interests and goals and their assertion and achievement require a more permanent organizational form. I do not believe that we ought to undertake to revive the conference and committee, but what we have now is not enough, there is a constant lack of communication among the schools of the university. This is perhaps less important for smaller universities, but it is important for Zagreb. Some of the tasks can and must be passed on to the city party presidium and opstina committees, but that still cannot make up for the necessary day-to-day coordination.

[Question] Finally, don't the interests and importance of certain schools of the university go beyond the need for linkage solely to the opstina committee?

[Answer] Certainly. Certain schools of the university are linked to the opstina committee only because they happen to be located there, though the activity they are concerned with is considerably broader in nature. This, of course, does not mean that they need not have links with their immediate community, like all other collectives. So, without underestimating that linkage and the heightened concern of the opstina committees, we can agree that that is only one of the possible links, while many others also exist. Even though the schools of the university do differ from one another, they still have certain common characteristics. Take only the fact, say, that everywhere you are dealing with young people....

[Question] The material for the meeting of the presidium contains the assessment that the reduction in the total number of students in Croatia is a good thing. They now number 30,000 fulltime and 15,000 parttime students, which is 14,000 fewer than 2 years ago.

[Answer] We are known as a country which has a high percentage of its population attending the university. The question is how justifiable this is, since the figures show that quite a few advanced countries have fewer university students per 1,000 inhabitants than we do. So the question of their number is raised in and of itself, and then there is the altogether different question of the number at the various schools of the universities or in divisions and sections. So the desirable goal would be to reduce the number of students to a realistic proportion. This is not just a question of general usefulness, but also a financial question, since it is clear that every student costs money. And the question is whether we as a society have the funds available to support the inclination of many young people who want to stay in school as long as possible. And that question of the available funds is also highly complicated, since we have quite a few cases where certain higher educational institutions have incomparably better material capabilities than others, though there is no sort of social justification for that. There are times when a particular school is abolished because "society does not have the money," while some are prospering and have above-average material conditions. Thus at times it seems that we are poor, and at other times so rich that we can bend over backwards in providing space.

However, the greatest obstacle is that we as a society do not actually know how many specialists of various kinds we need, that associated labor does not know its own needs, and this brings us to the key issue of the reform.

We agree with Dr Lovrencic that this is the key issue of the reform and that miracles should not be expected of the educational reform, that the university and science, however they may try, will not in and of themselves reform society. They are unable, as Piskac says, to change, say, relations in primary distribution, to change the present relationship between physical and mental labor (or office work), though some people expect precisely that from the reform.

And in conclusion we should answer the key question: What is the university today? Where is it located between the two opposed opinions: the first which would keep the old university at all costs, and the second which feels that the university should be "des royed," and its parts linked to the appropriate parts of associated labor? It seems to us that today the university actually no longer exists in that old traditional sense, except in the existence of the rector's office and the university assembly, but since the schools of the university have been divorced from one another, no new relationship has taken place between the respective schools and associated labor.

That is why we should reiterate the view that the situation at the university cannot be viewed in isolation from the self-management transformation of the entire society.

[Zagreb University's Connections With Industry] There Is Some Progress

We cannot be satisfied with the present status of the reform, but it is a fact that there has been some progress in certain quarters and that there are visible results of the commissions for the activity of party members at the university and executive secretaries associated with the Zagreb City LC Conference and committees of opstinas in which there are higher educational institutions. As for Zagreb, we certainly should point up the example of the "Electrical Engineering" grouping, which on Thursday held its special-topic action conference and brought together delegates of the School of Electrical Engineering, "Prvomajska," "Elka," "RIZ" [Radio Industry Zagreb], "Rade Koncar," the "Rudjer Boskovic" Institute, PTT [Postal, Telegraph and Telephone Service], the Community of the Croatian Electric Power Industry, the "Rudi Cajavec" Aviation Education Center, "TEZ" [Electric Lamp Factory], Radio-TV Zagreb, the "Rade Koncar" Junior Postsecondary School of Engineering, the Junior Postsecondary PTT School, "Croatia," "TRS" [Computer Factory], "Nikola Tesla," "Elektra" and the Croatian Institute for the Electric Power Industry.

Preparations are under way to hold similar special-topic meetings of the grouping of legal studies, economics, process engineering and medicine.

School of Political Science: There Is No Real Community Consensus

At the School of Political Science we talked with Dragutin Lalovic, secretary of the basic organization of the League of Communists for studies in political science and a member of the Commission for the Self-Management Transformation of Higher Education of the Zagreb City LC Conference, Zvonko Lerotic, head (procelnik) of studies in political science, and Vlatko Mileta, chairman of the council of the School of Political Science.

In their opinion the problem of the reform is especially exacerbated in the field of the social sciences, not only because of the difficulties of merging these fields into associated labor, but above all because both the constitution and the Law on Associated Labor have set forth certain normative premises (and they have served as the basis of the laws on educational reform) which are actually not functioning. Thus the field of education was normatively set on a par with the field of associated labor, but actually this is not the case. The real preconditions for linkage, we were told by our informants, do not exist either in associated labor or in education. Except in declarative terms. And that is why permanent administrative regulation becomes involved here; it is actually serving to emphasize the executive regulation of the government and is a negation of any self-management transformation, not just in higher education. The SIZ's [self-managed communities of interest] are nothing more than funds, the practice followed in them is one of outvoting rather than discussion and consensus. They get money from a contribution whose assessment is fixed (by the mechanism of tax collection), which eliminates the possibility of an equal relationship with users of services. After all, a work organization which is a user of services would have to pay for education twice: once to the SIZ and again directly to the school of the university. It is not possible to arrange matters through the SIZ; so, the SIZ's should be squared with reality, we were told at the School of Political Science.

incidentally, graduates of the School of Political Science, by contrast with similar schools of the social sciences, have no great problem finding jobs. The reason for this is probably that the courses of study and specialized orientation at this school were conceived in very practical terms from the very outset. It is interesting, however, that those we talked with emphasized the same thing as their colleagues from the School of Philosophy. That is, it was noted that the best students have the greatest difficulty finding jobs! How can this be? They say that on the one hand it is because the rule often prevails in work organizations that they do not need a man who is an imaginative scientist, but who will fit into the process of operation. On the other hand, the schools of the university have no opportunity at all to talk with and influence organizations of associated labor, precisely because this real community consensus does not exist between them.

School of Construction Engineering: Contracts Instead of Association

When the people we talked with in "construction," all of them full professors--Dr Aleksandar Solc, dean (dekan) of the School of Construction Engineering, Dr Veselin Simovic, president of the Construction Institute, and Aleksej Dusek, secretary of the basic organization of the League of Communists of the School of Construction Engineering OOUR [basic organization of associated labor]--commenced a conversation about a very specific issue by defining the university, we thought that this was the usual broad introduction which there was no point taking notes on, but actually they went in medias res. "The university is a community, it is an association of very diverse research-teaching and research organizations, but it is not," they said, "a cohesive entity. Which is why one cannot speak about it in generalities. We are a part of the university, and when the university's attitude toward the economy and toward society is criticized, we find we do not recognize ourselves in the criticism!"

This was actually a refutation of certain views to the effect that the university as a whole, in terms of its large scientific and indeed technical potential, is underutilized, underemployed, in short--nevertheless, somewhere "out of bounds" of society, especially when it comes to establishing new socioeconomic relations between science and higher education and material production.

If it is true that "construction" stands out, that it has found its bearings in carrying out the reform (more accurately, at least better than others), then we should look for the reason not only, as Solc and Simovic said, in the timely realization (back in 1971) that the school could not develop independently, outside of associated labor, without laboratories, but also (or even primarily) in the fact that it is an applied science.

Thus the ties with associated labor did exist, they say, even before the association to create the institute, and thereafter "only took on a definite attribute." There is no major project in Croatia which is built without a certain "presence" of the institute (studies, project planning or, most of all, supervision, monitoring the quality of the work performed). Billions are turned over in their operation, Solc and Simovic emphasize, there are individual contracts for amounts twice as great as the total gross income of other small schools of the university, and they do as much business in a month as small schools of the university perhaps do

in a year. They mention "a number of SAS's [self-management accords] concerning business relations and development projects with a number of work organizations in manufacturing," and they mention as well the institutional relationship, that is, business communities in the field of construction.

Fine, but is this connection with the economy, one that is based on contractual relations, i.e., contracts for rendering particular services--"the real thing"?

"No," Solc and Simovic admit. "The foundation of our work and cooperation with the economy ought to be based on the principles of free exchange of labor, on income-sharing relations. That is the conception of the institute, associated labor also agrees with that conception, and in general, as far as the conception goes, everything is fine. The only misfortune or rather pity is that in practice this conception has not 'sunk in.' More precisely, there are cases when agreement is made on joint projects when the relationship is not that of customer and the organization rendering a service, but they can be counted on your fingers. Why? Well, because it is just simpler to obtain an order for a project than to establish relations based on shared income."

At this school they put an end to the well-known shortcoming of university structures (which persists even today in many communities) which is called the dependence of the size of the research and teaching staff exclusively on the numbers of instruction, but the question of income-sharing relations has to be brought into conformity with this situation. The unity of research, teaching and professional work also presupposes unity of income. This is not an easy matter at all. Recently (in March) a special-topic conference of the Croatian LC of the Construction Institute on teaching emphasized that in implementing the principle of that unity "there are often certain difficulties of subjective, but also of objective nature." Mention was made, for example, of the contradiction which has not yet been resolved between teaching and professional work, and the reason is precisely because of income-sharing relations....

School of Philosophy: Distrust of the Changes

It is probably no accident that the School of Philosophy of Zagreb University is usually the focus of criticism of the character of the attempts of the reform made so far. After all, we are talking about a very strong and capable institution of the social sciences, judging by its scientific potential, and the Zagreb City Conference of the Croatian LC has said of it that all past efforts were directed more or less at ephemeral solutions of internal forms of organization of a cumbersome collective. Its assessment, that is, was that so far there has been no serious effort toward internal transformation of courses of study according to the reform, toward internal reorganization and rationalization of the schedule and pace of study, and there have been hardly any serious efforts to establish links with similar OUR's [organizations of associated labor] or even to optimize teaching processes either within the school itself or through links with other related schools at the university. Perhaps it was this situation at the school itself which recently drove the students themselves to vigorously demand a faster change in the internal pace, schedule and organization of study.

At the School of Philosophy we talked with Dr Vladimir Muzic, professor and dean, with Dr Zdravko Malic, professor and chairman of the Action Conference of the League of Communists of the Humanities and Social Sciences OOUR, and with Dr Mili-voje Solar, a professor who is a member of the working group which submitted the new draft for organization of studies at this school.

In our conversation with these professors of the School of Philosophy we got the idea that it is extremely difficult at this school to arrive at solutions which will satisfy the majority. The reasons for this situation are rather complicated, so much so in fact that some of the contradictions appear irresolvable in the opinion of Dr Malic.

The question that is often put in connection with these "irresolubilities" is this: Where here is, or where should be at present the position of a man who is politically conscious? To be a part of the silent majority in the League of Communists? Certainly not.

The disbelief and mistrust about the purport of the self-managed transformation of job-oriented upbringing and education is still strong, then, at the School of Philosophy. However, Dr Malic emphasized in talking to us, this disbelief is much less than 2 or 5 years ago. This assessment seems rather essential, since certainly it goes far to making it possible for the School of Philosophy to become a part of the general social processes, which at the outset certainly was not the case.

One of the key steps in the reform efforts is the proposal we have mentioned for the new organization of the course of study at the School of Philosophy, which is being worked out and which (along with another draft which was rejected) has been debated ever since the spring of 1979. The proposed version was recently completed, and now the sections are to take their final position concerning it. The essential idea in this new proposal is that the course of study be organized according to a single general system of elected collegiums so as to avoid the piling up of regulations, rules and schedules which in the past have differed from division to division. At the same time this proposal, which strives to be simple, flexible and practical--puts great emphasis on the difference between the types of instruction in secondary school and the university. However, today the true pattern of academic instruction does not yet exist in all divisions, which is one of the reasons why the school is not operating as an integrated entity, but simply as a group of divisions.

Perhaps this is then the reason why, in the judgment of Dean Muzic, between 50 and 60 percent of the graduates of the School of Philosophy are unable to find jobs.

In addition, the professors alerted us to the fact that it is the quality of instruction at the school that should be the central issue of the reform. The new proposal indeed pursues that, and it seems that is precisely why it is in jeopardy. Those who are doing poor work, we were told by Dr Malic, will for certain back up the sound criticisms of that proposal. There are quite a few such, he says, but that reaction will actually show us that the conception really is a good one.

School of Natural Sciences and Mathematics: Nothing Has Been Heard From Users of Services

Dr Ivan Crkvencic, professor and dean of the School of Natural Sciences and Mathematics (PMF), informed us about the present condition of this school, which is actually disastrous. That is, the PMF has for a number of years been broken up in terms of both space and organization, and many of the departments and institutes have not had even minimal conditions for serious scientific and research work. The school is scattered over 10 different locations in Zagreb: the specialized fields are spread apart, as are even certain institutes in the same specialized fields. That is why our priority task, we were told by the dean, is to achieve unity in space and function. This is the key issue of the reform for us at this point.

So, the basic steps in the process of reforming the PMF are aimed at creating conditions that will facilitate maximum association of labor, capital and equipment. Dean Crkvencic emphasizes that there would then be somewhat more realistic prerequisites for the PMF to become seriously involved in the efforts to reach an agreement at the republic level on the responsibility of the individual specialized fields for their respective lines of social development.

However, so long as this effort at spatial and functional linkage continues, the PMF along with certain of its divisions will be attempting to become part of the efforts to respond to the needs of associated labor in the production of trained personnel and in new knowledge or technological solutions. The school is therefore oriented toward SIZ's, but it has had no benefit from this. There are administratively determined quotas for enrollment of students, but not a word has been heard from the so-called users of services. Except in rare exceptions. The Varazdin centers for job-oriented and elementary education are crying for instructors, and therefore a direct agreement with them is now in force. The department of physics sent a letter a few days ago to various organizations of associated labor containing a proposal for diverse cooperation: from direct services to the education of trained personnel.

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